515 Both men, women took sweat baths, women usually sweat bathing at night, before the men, "every day" (PN), "once in awhile" (SM), "whenever they wanted to" (FP). After bathing women jumped in cold water, "the same as men" (FP). [841] Men, women did not bathe together, nor did woman enter sweat house during menstrual period. Boys had to be "over 14" (PN), "about 16" (SM), to be able to stand sweat bathing; girls "about 14." There was no ceremonial significance attached to boy's or girl's first sweat bath and from early childhood children allowed to romp around inside sudatory at will when it was not in use. Adults used sweat house almost daily; sweat bathing caused one to feel "light" and "good" (FP, SM). Men and women were wont to sing when taking sweat baths which lasted, for men at least, as long as 3 hours; men took such baths in evening, sometimes after breakfast as well. While they [276] sweated, men, women smoked sparingly or chewed tobacco mixed with lime. Sometimes single men, [342] widowers, or very old men used sweat house as sleeping quarters (SM); this denied by FP. Married men always slept with their wives, however [524] (above). Hand games never played in sweat house, [171] although informants aware Owens Valley Paiute utilized their sweat houses for this; PN said ● [535] dances sometimes held in sudatory, but all other informants denied this; possibly PN's statement reflects Palagewan custom, as opposed to that of [276] Tübatulabal. Jimsonweed administered to small groups in sweat house (p. 5). Sudatories no [177] longer used by Tübatulabal and ruins of only one such known to me (pl. 6a); this was on Bloomfield ranch near small flat on W side of South Fork r., close to village site no. 4 (fig. 11). Entrance to this house faced E.

349 Ceremonial brush enclosure.- For dances, round
527 brush enclosure (ho·yat, also used for brush en-
535 closure at piñon grounds), with walls of willow and brush 5-6 ft. high and single entrance on NE side, built; this similar to piñon-camp enclosure (above). Visitors from different localities who were attending dance were assigned places to camp within wall of enclosure; fire built in center and dancing done around this fire (see fig. 15, p. 69). Such enclosures made by adolescent boys at order of dance manager, and appear to have been used more by Tübatulabal than Palagewan, latter using flat-topped shade with sides (above) for camping purposes during fiestas. Covered dance house did not occur.

MEANS OF TRANSPORT

481 All traveling accomplished on foot; burdens
482 of all varieties, from firewood to babies, packed
492 on back; dogs not used for transport. Streams
501 crossed by swimming; rafts known, but used only for fishing.

[p. 26(a)]

765 for woman, husband's brother or sister's husband. Sons, daughters, grandparents exempt from taboo; parents did not observe it for children born dead. Mourners could eat salt, but this was usually used only on dry meat, fish. Period of time elapsing before mourner had face washed varied from 2-8 weeks to one yr.

765 Mourning ceremony and burning held 1-2 yrs.
764 after death of individual; if no ceremony to be held, deceased's possessions destroyed in whole or in part, buried in hole separate from grave immediately following death. FP after husband's death "threw away, smashed, burnt everything," including dishes, furniture, house she was living in; her male relations helped her build new house later. After FP died in 1932 LT moved out of house day following FP's funeral.

762 In compiling genealogies, gathering census data, there was frequent mention of death by violence, but no suicides were reported, except for one very dubious case, that of an old Koso man living alone at Canebrake, who was burned to death when his house caught fire.

764 Burial deposit under shelving rock 500 ft. above floor of South Fork valley on e. side of Chimney canyon and 1 mi. N of mouth of canyon opened by Mr. R. J. Nieto and SWN; latter said it was probably burial of dead child's belongings. Contents found 1 ft. below surface of ground, consisted of 3 bunches grass used as warp for coiled basketry (1-28573), 3 pieces bloodstained gunnysacking, 3 pieces coarsely woven sacking, 2 bunches peeled willow shoots used for baskets (1-28572), side of twined burden basket (1-28577), fragment of tule matting with wrap edge (1-28575), fragment of tule matting with braided edge
[177] (1-28574), granite coffee pot, 2 doorknobs, pieces of print cloth in tightly closed tin can, rattle made of dried rat's skull, 2 glass beads attached on string to piece of print cloth. This deposit situated in area inhabited by Koso, 1862 ff.

RECREATION

524 Games.- Tübatulabal no longer play any aborig-
[788 inal games, which may be owing in large part to
535] fact they no longer hold any group rituals or social dances; my information concerning games fragmentary, perhaps not entirely reliable.

524 Hand game (tïpi-mapï-l) played by groups of
525 men mainly, occasionally by women, but never by mixed groups, outside in summertime, or inside house in winter. Players knelt in 2 rows of 4 persons each; "there were never any more, or any fewer players" (SM); players faced each other with pile 8 counters laid between them. Each player put in equivalent of $2 in shell money which was deposited with 2 men who stood near gamblers and "watched the money"; people outside game might also place bets on either side if they wished to. Single stick (tu·bišt), 1 1/2 in. long, 1 in. thick, used formerly for guessing; more recently 2 used (SM).

726 made before going to war and which she said was
727 not form of ghost dance, as follows:

"The round dance (to·loši·la muluwil) was made
● 535 by the chief; he held it at his place. All the
726 people would come; it lasted one night. Men and women joined hands, a woman between 2 men, and they danced around a fire in a big circle for a long time. A few singers who knew the war songs stood between the fire and the circle of dancers; they sang for the dance. The men didn't wear
[292] feather skirts for this dance, as they did for dances at a burning. During the night of a war dance, the chief made speeches; he talked loudly, principally to the men. The next morning the men would go off to war."

When Tübatulabal made retaliatory attack upon Yokuts raiders (below), no round dance was held; "the people were too angry to have a round dance" (FP).

728 Settlement.- Chiefs of 2 hostile tribes, when bent upon making peace, met together and "talked things over; usually they promised each other not to fight any more." No money or gifts exchanged by way of settlement for dead (SM).

72
173 Two accounts of wars with Yokuts groups illustrate motives for warfare, manner of fighting, settlement, etc. Both wars occurred in latter half of last century.

"A Tübatulabal woman was pounding chia seeds; some Porterville (Yokuts) men who were visiting the Tübatulabal took her seeds away from her. The woman became angry and ran home and told her husband; he sought out the Porterville men and killed one. After this fight the Porterville visitors went home, but the male relatives of the Porterville man who had been killed returned to the South Fork valley on a raid and killed 6 Tübatulabal women who were gathering cane at Cane creek in Kelso valley. They also killed some Tübatulabal men. Then the Tübatulabal went down and fought the Porterville people. The Porterville chief sent 3 men over to the Tübatulabal chief to tell him the Porterville men would not fight any more, and to ask the Tübatulabal chief to come over to Porterville to 'settle up.' But the Tübatulabal chief didn't trust the Porterville people; he told the messengers he would be over at Porterville in 3 days, but after they
[648] left, the Tübatulabal chief sent up to the Koso chief in South Fork valley to tell those Indians over there to bring their arrows and go with him to Porterville. The Koso chief, Mouse, sent over E to get some more Koso; when they came there were about 50 of them; they camped one night at yitiamup (no. 9 on fig. 11), then they and the Tübatulabal chief and soldiers went over to Porterville the next day; they were prepared either to fight or settle up. The Porterville people were friendly to them; the 3 chiefs talked and agreed not to fight any more and the Porterville chief promised that thereafter his men would be good. The next year the Porterville people

788 nights; Elemgil supplied all the food for the
765 people and hired girls to cook; his relations
173 and friends helped him; they brought food, piñons, rabbits, seeds, anything. None of the visitors brought food; they were there to eat.

788 "At night 2 male dancers (muluwin) dressed in
765 feather skirts and feather headdresses, danced;
173 they just lifted one foot in front of the other,
535 and went around the fire inside the enclosure, slowly. Four old men (iyanibupïl) sang for them and rattled split-stick rattles. Some women would dance too, apart, not holding hands. The dancers held the dead person's clothes in their hands, and they cried as they danced. Elemgil or his relations, or anybody, would pay the singers and all the money was put in a pile near the singers; it was divided between the singers and the muluwin the next morning. When some other people wanted to dance, the first dancers quit, and the others would dance, all night, until daylight. If some of the women didn't want to dance, the muluwin would go over to them and pay them to dance. The muluwin had black stripes painted down their faces; the women had red dirt daubed on theirs.

"Grown people and children watched the dancing; the messenger tended the fire. Elemgil
[525] looked on every night for a little while, then he'd lie down and go to sleep. Some people would be playing handgame, too; men and women would play; the Monilabal women played handgame a lot.

[526] "In the daytime they'd play dice and handgames and the hoop-and-pole game; maybe doctors or persons with power would shoot each other (see section on Shamanism).

"They kept up the dancing for 5 nights; on Sunday Elemgil made a tule image and they burned it, before noon."

788 Describing another ceremony, held by a woman
173 for husband who was a dancer, SM said: "The people danced for 6 nights; on the 7th night some men dug
535 a round hole, put in lots of wood and made a big
765 fire. They took the dead man's clothes, and feath-
768 ers, and made an image (a·na·wišt) of rags (formerly tules), with feathers on the head, and a feather skirt on it; they put this doll on a long stick, and when they were ready they called to the people to come see it, and lots of people went over. Then the people lined up; 2 men at the head of the line carried the doll, and 3 men coming behind them carried baskets on top of short sticks; other men carried a feather wand (tu·pïl) and bands of yellowhammer quills, fastened to the ends of sticks, and the dead man's belongings. The women lined up behind the men; the widow was in the rear, and threw lots of beads up into the air; boys and girls picked up the beads and kept them. The procession marched around the fire clockwise 3 times; everybody was wailing; then they threw the doll, the baskets, everything, on the fire. When everything was burnt they filled up the hole with dirt, as though they were burying a dead person. After the burning everyone went home."

765 No particular person carried the image, feather
788

No particular person carried the image, feather
765 wand, yellowhammer banners; "just anyone could"
788 (SM). No songs sung during wailing. Chiefs at-
[237] tended burnings, but exercised no particular functions.

765 FP's account of burning held by her mother's
788 sister, a Koso woman, at omomĭp, did not differ
173 in essentials from SM's accounts, save FP said
535 all the men who danced were muluwin, wore feather skirts. Manager acted like clown; he was paid by giver of fiesta, as was Palagewan manager, and was "the big boss" at a fiesta. FP's uncle, Mouse, chief for Koso in e. end South Fork valley, attended this burning; "he told the people to dance; he also made speeches to the people, early in the morning; he went all around the camp, talking loudly, telling everybody to feed the people well, be kind to them." FP's aunt had bought 2 steers as part of provender, employed 4 cooks, whom she paid for their services. At the burning, held on Sunday morning, aunt threw beads, cotton goods, bags of chia seeds, piñons to people around fire; "the people fought for all that, they took it out of her hands. She was crying, loudly, when she threw the things away; people knocked each other down; Mouse kept order." Horse belonging to deceased loaded with beads, killed at this time; FP also said dog might be killed; PN agreed man's horse killed, but SM denied this was usual practice.

Kroeber says invited chief had charge of burning at climax of fiesta, that his people gathered wood, tended fire, burned image, washed faces of mourners afterward, etc. (Handbook, 609). SM denied these statements; said that it was true that at Elemgil's burning Yokuts man employed as messenger, but that latter lived among Palagewan, and that Elemgil invited Yokuts to burning because "he went down to Tejon a lot, and knew the people there." Kawičina, the dance manager who had charge of burning, was member Palagewan band. Little Bill Chico, SM's predecessor, did not put burning in charge of chief from another tribe
[178] when he gave one; if woman giving fiesta, her son generally managed it for her. Tübatulabal stopped holding these fiestas around 30 yrs. ago; at present time, night before burial of corpse
[177] relations of deceased and all others who care to assemble at SM's house or at home of deceased, spend night in wailing; SM makes, decorates a
778 cross, reads from Bible in Spanish.

Feather wand (fig. 16) carried at burning made

Fig. 16. Feather wand carried at burnings (x, eagle feathers; y, quail crests, z, mud-hen feathers).

[p. 70(a)]

778 237 from stick, 2 ft. long, wrapped with mud-hen feathers, with mt.-quail crests tied to tips of mud-hen feathers; surmounted with 2 eagle feathers. Wand tied on end of long stick, borne aloft in procession by "any man," then thrown in fire. "These were always carried at burnings" (SM, FP); why, no informant knew.

[171] Yellowhammer bands resembled Miwok band with jagged edge (Kroeber, Handbook, 590, pl. 58); better made than Koso specimen (ibid.). Such bands (wi·lat) worn by dancer around waist (FP); never worn as headbands (SM, FP); also carried on poles at burnings (SM), or hung on door of living house to keep ghosts away (FP); were made by men, bought by maker of fiesta for $2 apiece.

292 ●535 Dancer (muluwin) wore feather dance outfit, carried bunch of eagle feathers (ma·ša·wišt) tied around wrist, which he used to dust off women (see section on Chieftainship, Law, Conduct); some dancers wore hair woman giving fiesta had cut off in mourning; they tied it around both legs like garters.

535 [171] Dance (muluwil) performed at fiestas similar to Owens Valley Paiute totahoid" dance (Steward, 1933, 321); line of women moved sideways right and left; men danced in same spot; muluwin danced around fire. MM, who had spent 16 yrs. among Owens Valley Paiute, called this dance "war dance" as it is called by Owens Valley Paiute, when referring to it. Among Tübatulabal this form of dance does not seem to have been of recent introduction; informants asserted it was old form, and not restricted to burnings; at dances made occasionally "just for fun," Tübatulabal danced "in 2 long lines of men and women, just like they danced at a burning" (FP). MM said this was "the only dance the Tübatulabal had," which is, of course, only partly correct. Several Koso, as well as Tübatulabal, dancers were referred to by my informants; among Koso dancers Juan Paiyote (p. 51), whom Steward's informants mentioned, was often alluded to, but never as person who had introduced this dance among Tübatulabal.

881 Puberty rites, bird cult.- Boys' puberty rites lacking, unless quest for supernatural power could be considered as such.

881 171 Definite adolescence ceremony for girls, which has been noted for Tübatulabal (Handbook, 607), may possibly have been practiced formerly among Palagewan, but SM, ES, FP, LT repeatedly denied any knowledge of such rites for either band. SM was only informant who once said girls were put on warm pit at first menstruation, as among Owens Valley Paiute (Steward, 1933, 293); MM was interpreting at time, may have been giving me Owens Valley Paiute information; subsequently with ES interpreting, SM flatly contradicted his statement of year before, said pit only used by women having babies. Absence of girls' puberty rites among Tübatulabal of interest in view of Kroeber's assertions that throughout California elabbrate development of these rites "stands out conspicuously"

881 among ruder hill tribes and is absent, or dwarfed,
171 among more specialized lowland tribes (Handbook, 609; also 7, 135, 861); although these statements may apply to other parts of California, they do not seem to be upheld by Tübatulabal data.

231 No traces of bird cult found, although eagles
794 were kept in captivity in order to obtain their feathers.

795 Ghost dance, social dances.- None of my in-
●535 formants remembered anything about Ghost dance, or Jack Wilson. Two forms of round dances mentioned; one was war dance of incitement, the other similar dance with men, women dancing in concentric circles, women on inside; this was danced at fiestas sometimes (FN), but no dance was ever given in order to bring dead back to
[727] life (all informants). Massacre of 1863 (see Autobiography of FP) deprived Tübatulabal and Palagewan of nearly all their adult men and
[797] thoroughly cowed survivors; by 1890 majority of Tübatulabal had become Catholicised and plans
[177] were under way for granting each individual land; these plans were realized in 1893. Considering all these factors, as well as small size of group, there seems little reason to doubt informants' statements that neither Ghost dance of 1870 nor 1890 spread to Tübatulabal, although from their geographical position they might be expected to have had this dance.

[p. 71(a)]

535 Social dances sometimes given "just for fun" according to FP, although SM denied this; in summer such dances held outdoors; in winter, inside sweat house (FN), or dwelling house if latter large enough. Not customary to hold dance at end of piñon, acorn harvests (FP, SM), although people "could, if they wanted to" (FP).

788 Minor rituals, elements of ritual.- Several minor rituals have been referred to; they include weather shaman's treatment of seeds (see section on Shamanism), deer hunting ritual (see section on Basic Subsistence), offering of tobacco at eclipse, etc. At strange body of water, before drinking, person put small amount of eagle down on water and said to spirit living in stream (SM), "I am going to drink this water; don't make me sick." Offerings for minor rituals included tobacco, eagle down, shell money; seeds, meal not used. From context of informants' remarks eagle down not attached to ends of stick, although I did not inquire specifically about this. Offerings were left on bare ground which had been brushed clean with hands; no altars; formulas accompanied most ritual offerings.

346 Ceremonial structure for larger rituals and ritual dress have been mentioned; ritual apparatus simple (above). Ritual number 3; dancing proceeded clockwise.
[801]

[p. 71(b)]

3: Voegelin E-5 (1931-1933) 1935
NS22 Tübatulabal NS22

29. There that woman went and stood. 30. From there she talked. "Why are you following me?" she says to that one, her own husband. "I am bad," she says. 31. There that one, her husband, stood when that one, his own wife, is saying (this). 32. "Good," says that one, his wife, "if you want to go with me, then we will cross the ocean." 33. "Good," says her husband. 34. "And do you see that mountain? We will go out there, and when we get on top then Crow will come to us when he sees (us) going out; Crow will pass by very close to our eyes; 'Caw,' he says here, and goes away; he takes an eye out here and goes away."

35. From there they went on top of the water; in a dustspout. 36. Far away they arrived there on the mountain. 37. Then they went out on top. 38. Then Crow came. 39. Then that man took out his amulet. 40. Then he fastened it on his own head. 41. Then Crow passed by here and went away; "Caw"; when passing by here (Crow) took (the man's) amulet (instead of his eye). 42. From there they went downward. 43. Then that one, his wife, said, "Do you see that valley?" she says. 44. "Yes," says that one, her husband. 45. Then they arrived very close. 46. Then that one, his wife, says, "Go in that house; the house (is) a big one; and I will go the other way. (There are) many houses there, and in the evening I will see you," says that one, his wife.

47. "Good," says that one, her husband. There that one, her husband, arrived in the house. 48. There a man, the chief, lives. "Come in, come in," he says. 49. There the man sat down. 50. Then that chief said, "What are you coming to do here (so) far away?" 51. "I am following my own wife," he says. 52. "Don't say (that), your wife is bad. She may not go back again, but you will see her pretty soon in the evening. People dance (then)."

53. Then already when it became night one man yelled—this one (is) a clown—"Make ye fire immediately, make fire," says that clown. "Come ye immediately, come," the clown says. 54. Then all the people came. 55. Then they danced all night; (there is) hand-game, and also they are dancing, and also, (there is) gambling. 56. Then they quit in the morning.

57. From there they all scattered. 58. From there that man went back again to the chief. 59. Then the chief says, "Do you desire your own wife?" he says. 60. "Yes," says the man. 61. "Well, pretty soon I will call that one your wife and she will go with you," he says. 63. Then the man came. 64. Then the chief said, "Call the wife of this man." 65. Then that man went; there he brought her. "Go with your husband," says the chief. 66. "Good," says the man. 67. "But after three days, then you will touch your own wife," says the chief. 70. "Good," says the man.

71. From there they came. 72. Then they arrived far away. 73. Then also (they) came in a dustspout on top of the water. 74. Then they emerged from the water; they are still coming. 75. There they returned in the dark. 76. There they slept. 77. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night. 78. Then the man touched his wife. 79. Then he turned away back again. 80. Then they came in the morning from there. 81. Far away they came as it got dark; there again they slept.

82. Then the man woke up in the middle of the night. 83. Then he turned toward his own wife. 84. Then he touched his own wife; right away he climbed on his own wife; he copulated with his own wife. 85. Then when he had finished copulating, he slept. 86. Then, at daylight, he woke up. 87. Then he saw (something); (a stalk of) yucca is lying alongside of him. 88. There the man got up. 89. There he is standing.

90. "I can't help it now," he says; "the chief told me rightly (that) I should not take that one." 91. From there he went to his own house. 92. He arrived there, at home. 93. Then he tells those people, "I am one who has been a traveler when I followed my own wife far away across the ocean; I arrived there and I brought that one, my own wife, back in vain," he says. 94. "Then that chief told me rightly, but I did not believe him when he says, 'After three days you sleep with your own wife,' the chief says to me in vain, and right away I took that one, my own wife, before three days." 95. "Then she was turned into yucca." 96. "From there I came alone." 97. It stood (ended) pretty soon.